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835 All the informants agreed in stating that this substitute could beget children with the wife of the one absent (103).

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> 103. In September of 1955 the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, on a trip of religious and sanitary assistance on the river Papuri, encountered, among the Christian natives of the locality called Melo Franco, an episode that confirms the above information which we had obtained two years before. That is, a married Tukano Indian had been absent for two years, in order to work in the seringals of Colombia. During his absence his brother maintained sexual relations with the absent man's wife, a child being born out of these adulterous relations.

835 As for the paternity, however, the answer was not in agreement.
851 Two asserted that the child would be regarded as the child of the true father; while the rest stated that it would be considered the child of the absent husband. Some even added that if he is "good" (sic) he will give thanks for the service that the substitute rendered him, satisfying his wife and giving him a child. It must be pointed out clearly that no financial obligation for supporting the family of the absent husband intervenes for the substitute.

842 It seems to us that one can conclude that this partial discrep-
847 ancy of the information is explained by knowing: 1st -- that formerly the absences must not have been very prolonged, so as to create the problem whose solution we had asked for; 2nd -- that there is frequent use of sterilization and abortive agents, and that the woman regularly seeks to make the interval between her deliveries a space of two or more years.

581 From the above information we think it is to be inferred that the official marriage only aims at the determination of paternity and, therefore, the determination of the tribe to which the child belongs and which attends to (father and mother) its rearing.

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There are, as we have seen (IV -- 2), three groups of tribes, which we call Tukano /Tucano/, Arwake /Arawak/, and Makú /Macu/. The serious obligation is that of exogamy. Once the interdictions that we listed in the Classification of the tribes are observed, however, the woman may be from another tribe of the same group or from another group of tribes. Out of a question of pride, no tribe will marry a Makú, who is considered slave and inferior; /409/ he is not "people," they say (3).

> 3. We know of a few cases of marriage by men of other tribes (Tukano, Tuyuka, Desana, Ipeka) with a Makú woman. None of a Makú man with a woman from another tribe. Among these few cases, that of a young woman, although already orphaned in 1947, a resident of the Tuyuka maloca of the locality of S. Pedro, river Tiquié, whose father was Tukano and the mother, Makú. We were not able to verify whether her mother was a legitimate wife or simply a concubine; or, further, whether she had been born from a casual relationship. We do not know either, under the first hypothesis, for what reasons such a marriage had taken place. Perhaps a lack of women? Or due to a physical defect of the man (it is to be noted that the girl was cross-eyed)? Or because of living among the Makú of the Gí-paraná or Komé-ya (trib. of the Pirá-paraná)?

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If they nevertheless manage to catch some young Makú girl, they might have her as a concubine, along with the legitimate wife. They will avoid, however, having children with the Makú; and if, in spite of this, they do have them (for example, the grandmother of Maria Gama from Urubucuara), they are considered

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legitimate and belong to the father's tribe (4).

4. In Paraíba-poço, river Tiquié, a Tukano, upon presenting to be baptized a child he had had with a Makú, at first denied his paternity, saying that it "did not have a father."

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Marriages between Taryana and Desãna do not take place. We do not know the reasons, however; it does not seem to be because of pride, because the Tukano themselves, considered the most noble group, marry Desãna, as well as Taryana. It is to be noted that the Taryana and Desãna idioms, belonging to different linguistic families, make us think in terms of a great distance between these tribes. Nevertheless they tell us that there is no marriage between them because they are "brothers."

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Likewise, the Tukano do not marry the Bará. The Tukano explain that the Bará are their grandparents, Pax-kõ-Ro. Nor the Pirá-tapuya the Wanana and Arapásu; or the Arapásu the Miritĩ, Wanana, and Desana; nor the Taryana the Ipeka-tapuya; nor, finally, the Desana the Taryana, Tuyuka, Pira-tapuya, and Arapásu.

It is among the Miritĩ-tapuya that the largest number of interdictions is in force, that is, they cannot marry the Desana, Tuyuka, Arapásu, Pirá-tapuya, Ipeka-tapuya, and Taryana.

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b) The second law is that of the exchange of the women of one tribe for the women of another one. Or, with more accuracy, a father will give his daughter as a wife to the son of another family, in order to have a sister of the latter as a wife for his son.

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It is what is called Põãperi or põãpeserí. And the young woman will call such a fellow bridegroom /Port. noivo/, that is, Mĩ-ra-põ nỹãkhõ (future husband) or even Põrã-kõ nỹãkhõ (future genitor); and, vice versa, he calls her Nõ'mõ nyãkho (future wife) or Põrã-ko nỹãkho (future genitress).

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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the common expression *hápyako* (listen!). It would not be correct to say that children "seal the marriage." Children, however, do give a marriage its full status. Until her first child is born a wife may remain as part of her mother-in-law's household. Thereafter she automatically achieves her independence, with her own garden and her own hearth. The equality of the spouse terms is also significant, corresponding to the economic and symbolic complementarity of male and female, husband and wife. Although an outsider in a patrilineal and patrilocal sib, the Cubeo wife is not "inferior" to her husband

The relationship between husband and wife depends largely upon personal factors, to be sure. Still, there are some cultural standards for the people to follow. One of these is the keeping of physical distance in public. One does not observe among the *Bahúkiwa* informal or spontaneous gestures of intimacy between husband and wife. They rarely touch one another in public. This lack of physical contact is all the more marked because the Cubeo are in other respects a tactile people. Men embrace one another, women caress one another, and at drinking parties there is a certain amount of heterosexual body contact. But even then, husband and wife keep their distance. There are, however, specific public gestures of intimacy between husband and wife, but these are formal and are in the nature of obligations. A woman applies decorative paint to her husband, delouses his head, and scrapes insect scabs from his skin. These are all intimate gestures to the Cubeo. They are done in public and only in preparation for a ceremony.

The marital relationship is to be understood, I believe, as falling within the range of respect behavior appropriate to members of different phratries. It is incumbent upon the man, furthermore, to uphold his solidarity with his male sibmates by imposing public distance upon his wife. Male solidarity begins early in life and, in any case, is not readily yielded up after marriage. There is a relationship, as well, between connubial distance, as we may call it, and the frequency of tribal exogamy. In many marriages husband and wife cannot even understand one another fully because they speak different dialects or languages. It would seem that the pattern of connubial distance helps make such marriages more tolerable since there is no expectation of sudden intimacy. Lack of privacy makes it easy for public pressure to enforce the rule of distance.

With time, of course, husband and wife develop more ease, more intimacy, and more affection for one another. These new relationships will be revealed in manner of address and facial expression rather than by touch.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
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smoking a bark-rolled cigarette. He steps into the river, an act believed to be dangerous for him despite the magical precautions, scoops up water, rinses his mouth, and spits it out. Then he blows the cigarette smoke and recites his spells. As a last act he throws the burning faggots into the water "to drive away all the dangers."

For the rest of the month the father may not tie, cut, or press anything, such as sugar cane. Cutting and tying would prevent the child from urinating and defecating, pressing sugar cane would crush the child to death. One man told that he had forgotten this injunction and had tied together a bundle of sugar cane. When he returned home his infant was ill and died on the same day. Before each of these activities is resumed an appropriate spell accompanied by cigarette smoke is chanted.

Once the river has been "blown" the father may fish and paddle his canoe, but for five days thereafter he may not kill a fish by clubbing or he will injure the infant's head. He may not scrape scales from a fish or the navel stump of the infant will swell. He may not drink chicha for five days or the infant will suffer from diarrhea. Chicha drinking is the least dangerous act. Should the father get drunk on chicha before the chicha has been properly spelled the infant will get drunk. On the other hand, when he sobers so will the child.

For the first year of its life the infant has no name (*amyá*) and is not fully a member of the sib. I was told merely that if it were given a name too soon it would die. After the name is bestowed, the child comes under the influence of the Ancients and their growth magic. To appreciate the significance of growth magic it is necessary to understand the special relish the Cubeo have for body size, how much they appreciate heavy arms and bulging calves. Size is a virtue in itself. Thus it is also interesting to note that the term for body is *bahü* and the term for the self, the person, is also built on this stem, *bahümikü* (or *ko*).

The naming ceremony (*amindone hino*: giving a name) is conducted by the paternal grandfather, whose privilege it is to give the name. Seated on a bench at the forward and ceremonial end of the house, with his son at his side holding the infant, the grandfather repeatedly recites a chant over a small calabash of milk. The father accompanies him. The milk has been drawn from the child's mother's breast but is referred to as milk from the father's sister, to emphasize the point that it is the child's own sib that will make it grow. The chant itself, as well as the blowing, are forms of growth magic. Each recitation begins with sustained loud whistles followed by the cries *hi i i i i*. At the conclusion of each recitation the grand-